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to Brazilian modernists

the poetry of revolution

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cultura prehistórica del hombre
del Nuevo Mundo.

The government of the Cabinet

By H. C. G. Matthew

J. E. COOKSON:
Lord Liverpool's Administration
1815-1822.
422pp. Scottish Academic Press. £6.

JOHN W. DERRY:
Castlereagh

247pp. Allen Lane. £7.50
(paperback, £3.75).

British historical writing on the
nineteenth century remains pro-
foundly rooted in the past. In-
deed there are indications that the
interdisciplinary approach, so fash-
ionable five years or so ago, is on
the wane. While some historians
have turned to the study of crises
as the best way of recording the
inner workings of the political sys-
tem, others have turned to the his-
tory of administration. Given the
vast amount of archival and depart-
mental material available, and the
extent of historical interest in the
policy-making process as it effected
individual departments, it is per-
haps surprising that there have not
been more attempts to study nine-
teenth-century governments and
cabinets in their entirety.

The chief problem in writing the
history of an administration is that
of focus: it is not easy to deal
simultaneously with the relation-
ships of the government with the
departments, with their followers,
with their opponents and with each
other, and it is easy for a mere
catalogue of decisions to emerge.

J. E. Cookson in *Lord Liverpool's
Administration, 1815-1822* partly
solves this problem by leaving out
foreign, colonial, and imperial
policy, which naturally produces
some distortion, especially as
regards the position of Castlereagh.
He also deals with only one phase
of Lord Liverpool's fifteen years of
office, the period of the war with
France, and the period of the re-
construction of the cabinet following
Castlereagh's suicide. Though this is
the ministry topped and tailed, it is
still a period as long as any unit
includes, in addition to the usual
day-to-day politics characteristic
of any government, several events of
long-lasting importance: in particu-
lar the financial and fiscal settle-
ment worked out between 1815 and
1818, the Government's handling of
the supposed "revolutionary" at-
tention, culminating in the Six Acts,
and the second last major court
crisis of the post-Stuart monarchy.

Dr Cookson maintains a clear

focus by looking at the period
thoroughly from the viewpoint of
ministers, based on a very
thorough and extensive exami-
nation of the original sources. He
devotes little time to the rank and
file, even when they become
cussed. The advantage of this
approach is that it places events in
the perspective of the cabinet of
the day, which is not necessarily
that of history, particularly when
history. An obvious problem is that
events both up and down as they
occur in correspondence: the long-
term nature of policy and the
blinking of departments is not so
easily perceived. Thus the best ac-
tions of Dr Cookson's book are
those on the political engagement
of the ministry, the question of
the Queen, and the eventual accom-
modation of Canning. Another prob-
lem is that the political action
outside the ministry appears in the
context of historical interest in the
"responsible cabinet" which in re-
sults in a complex web of varied
attitudes. This is especially true in
the complex debate on finance and
currency, and, although Dr Cookson
summarizes the Government's
policy, it is clear that a coherent
study of fiscal policy throughout
this period is hardly needed.

Dr Cookson's book certainly jus-
tifies the attempt to write the his-
tory of a government. By bringing
problems into the relationship
which they had chronologically and
to the minds of ministers, he has
produced an important study of the
working of a cabinet in the last
phase of pre-reform politics,
though it must be said the basis
for Lord Liverpool's personal
ascendancy over his unruly prima-
ries remains ill-defined. More
work on the relationship of the
cabinet to the party might have
clarified this point.

John W. Derry's *Castlereagh* is a
good deal better suited to the
notion of "concise and authorita-
tive" biography than most of those
so far discussed in this rather
verbal review. The reader should
not be misled by Dr Derry's im-
perpetrate opening and closing
passages, which are slashing
attacks on the Redcliffe—E. P.
Thompson, Shelley and Byron in
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Calling Methodism to order

By Owen Chadwick

W. R. WARD (Editor):

Early Victorian Methodism
The Correspondence of James
Burns, 1820-1829.
440pp. Oxford University Press.
£12.

The Camden Society published in
1972 *The Early Victorian Correspondence
of James Burns, 1820-1829*. This
second volume from the same ad-
dition, W. R. Ward, covers the
most important period in Burns's
life, and to the history of Metho-
dism. The correspondence with
John Wesley, Dr Ward origi-
nally supposed that he must choose
from a collection of 700 letters but
found by inquiry several other col-
lections, totalling in all more than
4,000 letters. The correspondence
in the library of the University of
Durham, typescript of most of
these letters and a calendar of the
remainder. Here he prints his
second selection of 345 letters,
hardly any of them used in the
early biography of James Burns
by his son T. F. Burns.

Methodism began as a group dedicated
to making the Church of England
more capable of saving men's souls.
By the logic of events and the law
of reform, they became instead a
separate denomination. But they

inherited no single religious tra-
dition, were founded in acts of resis-
tance to hierarchical order, and
nevertheless felt near to the
Church of England and far from
old dissent. Therefore they were
plagued with tensions, and would
have suffered partial disruption
whatever the wisdom of their
leaders.

Anyone who attempted to bring
order, and to create a Church of
a lot of little chapels, was sure
to evoke distrust and fear. Burns
possessed the organizing genius
which the moment needed, and it
makes a peculiar difficulty for re-
ligious bodies that the war of the
Methodists was a less pure and
less sparkling stream than the
engineers direct it into a canal.

Methodism contained elements
which were of the wilderness, the
free word under the open air, the
descent of the spirit in a revival
that no man could predict. Anyone
who tried to organize Methodism
needed to take account of charis-
ma among simple men, and
women. And even if like Burns
he did take account, the world of
leavers and London capitalists
and respectable dissent was
hardly intelligible to men of the
moor and the camp and the low
fence.

The conflict concerned the insti-
tution of the Church. Did the ap-
ostles summon ministers who sum-
moned a people, and authority
belong to ministers and to them
alone? Or did the spirit call forth
a people of God which then chose
its representatives? Both these
doctrines have been held by
members of Methodist groups.
A form of the high doctrine was
more faithful to the mind of John
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fact of Methodist life, little chap-
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stood for a moderate high doctrine
as he received it from Wesley's
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ministers canonically ordained. His
endeavour permanently marked
the later history of Wesleyan Metho-
dism. In a sense the catastrophe
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I also doubt whether such re-
search is worth publishing in this
form. Although the book is re-
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at a price of £6.50, and suffers from
the inevitable limitations of a
book above all, the lack of any
broad historical context. The place for
such research is in the doctoral
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A literature without criticism

By Octavio Paz

Any suggestion that Western litera-
ture is a single entity would meet
with immediate and justified rejec-
tion. What is there in common
between the Italian hendecasyllable
and English iambic, or between
Camões and Ronsard, or between
Kafka? But it seems not only
reasonable but undeniable that
Western literature forms a whole.
Each of the unities we call English,
German, Italian, or French litera-
ture is isolated and independent but
exists in a continuous relationship
with the others. Corneille drew on
his reading of Juan Ruiz de Alarcón
and Shakespeare on Montaigne.

Western literature is a network
of mutual relationships: languages,
works, authors, styles have always
interpenetrated. These relation-
ships work on various levels and in
various directions: Some are efflu-
ent and others oppositional: Chaucer
translated the Roman de la Rose,
but the German Romantics rise up
against Racine. Relationships can
be temporal or spatial, as shown by
Eliot's discovery of the poetry of
Laforgue across the Channel, and
Pound's encounter with Provencal
poetry across the sea of time. All
great literary movements have been
international, and the great works
in our tradition, consequently, are
sometimes imitations of other
works. Western literature forms a
whole lacking in internal struggle
with itself, constantly breaking
down and reuniting in a series of
negations and affirmations which
are at the same time, rotations,
and metamorphoses.

It is a literature in movement and
also one which has expanded. West-
ern literature has not only spread
to other lands (America, Australia,
South Africa) but has also generated
other literatures. At one geographical
extreme the Slavonic literatures,
which were of the wilderness, the
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One cannot conceive of the
nineteenth and twentieth centuries
without Melville, Poe, Whitman,
James, Faulkner, Eliot. The other
great universal literature was Rus-
sian. I say "universal" because un-
like American literature which is
still giving us great poets and novel-
ists in this century, Russian litera-
ture has suffered an eclipse. But
the word eclipse is inaccurate, be-
cause it denotes a natural phenom-
enon outside human will, whereas
the destruction of Russian litera-
ture was a catastrophe voluntarily
perpetrated by a group of men. The astonishing
thing here (unique in modern
history because Hitler's attempt
eventually failed) is that this
act of destruction was a con-
sequence of a Promethean his-
torical programme designed to
change society and human nature
alike. A second-century Christian's
disillusionment on being reborn and
finding the Second Coming had not
happened after 2,000 years would be
less than that of Marx and Engels
at the fate of their ideas a century
and a half after their Communist
Manifesto.

Agreed, we have witnessed the
renaissance of Russian literature in
recent years: Solzhenitsyn,
Sinyavsky, Brodsky and others. But
these writers' influence is moral,
not literary. Solzhenitsyn's is not a
style so much as a conscience; his
works are a witness to the horror
of our world rather than a vision
of that world.

The third non-European Western
literature is Latin American, di-
vided into two great branches, Por-
tuguese and Spanish. The case of
French American literature is dif-
ferent. Although there are impor-
tant analogies and similarities
between Brazilian and Spanish
American literature, they have
evolved independently. The case of
Portuguese literature is not a
reminiscent of one of two fortu-
nously living in neighbouring towns,
out of contact with one another but
responding similarly to similar cir-
cumstances. Despite the fact that
Brazilian and Spanish American

poets have undergone the same in-
fluences in this century—symbolism,
Eliot, surrealism, Pound—
there has not been the slightest
relationship between them except in
recent years. The same could be
said for the novel, theatre and
essay. Besides, Brazilian history has
been different from that of other
Latin American countries. For all
these reasons, therefore, I shall con-
fine my remarks to Spanish Ameri-
can literature.

In the beginning our literature
was simply an offshoot from
Spanish literature, just as American
literature was from British. From
the late sixteenth century onwards,
the Spanish American nations,
especially the viceroynes of Peru
and New Spain, contributed out-
standing figures to Spanish litera-
ture: one has only to mention the
dramatist Ruiz de Alarcón and the
poet Sor Juana Inés de la Cruz.

In both cases one can find certain
traits or tones which betray their
American origins, but whatever the
strength of these peculiarities they
do not separate the writers from the
Iberian Spanish literature of the
day. Ruiz de Alarcón is unlike Lope
de Vega but his theatre does not
represent the start of a new tradi-
tion—merely another more delicate
or indirect social or metaphysical
realist or allegorical, appears in
nearly every Spanish American
writer. How could one possibly
separate novelistic invention and
political criticism in the work of
Azuela, for example? The same is
true of Borges who is the exact
opposite of Azuela as a writer; and
also of Vargas Llosa, who differs
enormously from Borges. Borges
nearly always centres his stories on
a metaphysical point: rational
doubt about the reality of what we
call reality. They embody a radical
critique of certain apparently
self-evident notions like space, time,
the identity of consciousness.

Vargas Llosa, on the other hand,
reminds one of two fortu-
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day. Ruiz de Alarcón is unlike Lope
de Vega but his theatre does not
represent the start of a new tradi-
tion—merely another more delicate
or indirect social or metaphysical
realist or allegorical, appears in
nearly every Spanish American
writer. How could one possibly
separate novelistic invention and
political criticism in the work of
Azuela, for example? The same is
true of Borges who is the exact
opposite of Azuela as a writer; and
also of Vargas Llosa, who differs
enormously from Borges. Borges
nearly always centres his stories on
a metaphysical point: rational
doubt about the reality of what we
call reality. They embody a radical
critique of certain apparently
self-evident notions like space, time,
the identity of consciousness.

half of the twentieth century. No
one today denies the existence of a
Spanish American literature with
its own characteristics, distinct from
Spanish literature, and created with
a number of unique and exceptional
works. It has been a literature
rich in poetry and prose fiction,
poor in dramatists and poor in criti-
cal writing, whether literary,
philosophical or moral.

This weakness, especially obvious
in the critical field, has led some
of us to wonder whether Spanish
American literature is, despite its
real or apparent originality, really
modern. The question is relevant
because critical thinking has been a
basic component of modern litera-
ture since the eighteenth century.
A literature without critical
thought is not modern, or if it is
only in a peculiar and contradictory
way.

Before answering this question
about the absence of critical think-
ing in Spanish America we must
ask: is it really absent? Does this mean
that no critical literature exists, or
does it mean that we have no litera-
ry, philosophical or moral criti-
cism? The existence of critical
literature seems to me undeniable.
Some sort of critical thinking, direct
or indirect, social or metaphysical,
realist or allegorical, appears in
nearly every Spanish American
writer. How could one possibly
separate novelistic invention and
political criticism in the work of
Azuela, for example? The same is
true of Borges who is the exact
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a metaphysical point: rational
doubt about the reality of what we
call reality. They embody a radical
critique of certain apparently
self-evident notions like space, time,
the identity of consciousness.

Vargas Llosa, on the other hand,
reminds one of two fortu-
nously living in neighbouring towns,
out of contact with one another but
responding similarly to similar cir-
cumstances. Despite the fact that
Brazilian and Spanish American

poets have undergone the same in-
fluences in this century—symbolism,
Eliot, surrealism, Pound—
there has not been the slightest
relationship between them except in
recent years. The same could be
said for the novel, theatre and
essay. Besides, Brazilian history has
been different from



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La moneda de hierro

*Aquí está la moneda de hierro. Interrogamos
Las dos contrarias caras que será la respuesta
De la tern de desnudo que nadie no se ha hecho:
¿Por qué precisa un hombre que una mujer lo quiero?
Miremos. En el orbe superior se entretejen
El firmamento cubitiple que sostiene el diluvio
Y las inalterables estrellas planetarias.
Addu, el joven padre, y el joven Parnio.
La torde y la mañano. Dios en cada criatura.
En ese lóbrego puro está tu reflejo.
Arrojemos de nuevo la moneda de hierro
Que es también un espejo mágico. Su reverso
Es uadio y uada y sonbro y ceguera. Eso eres.
De hierro las dos caras labran un solo eco.
Tus uamos y tu lengua son testigos infieles.
Dios es el inasible centro de lo sortija.
No exalta ni condenn. Obra mejor: olvida.
Calumnando de infamia ¿por qué no han de quererte?
En la sombra del otro buscamos nuestra sombra;
En el cristal del otro, nuestro cristal preciso.*

Jorge Luis Borges

The Iron Coin

Haró is the iron coin. Let us ask. The two opposing faces what will be the answer? To the obstinate question that no one has not asked himself: Why does a man require that a woman should love him? Let us see. On the upper sphere are interwoven. The fourfold firmament borne up by the flood/ And the amitebia planets. Adam, the young father, and the young Paradise. The evening and the morning. God in every creature. In this pure labyrinth is your reflection. / Lat us toss again the iron coin. Which is also a magic mirror. Its reverse side/ Is no one and nothing and darkness end blindness. That is you. / The two faces forge a single iron echo. / Your hands and your tongue are unfaithful witnesses. / God is the ungraspable centre of the ring. / Ho naiter praises nor condemns. He behaves better: ha forgats. / Falasly charged with infamy, why should they not love you? / In the darkness of the other we seek our darkness; / In the glass of the other, our necessary glass.

mention more recent ones. So why is it said that we have an criticism in Spanish America? The subject is vast and complicated, and I shall simply sketch the beginnings of an explanation. It may not be the only cause but it is, I am sure, one of the causes. There has always been good literary criticism but we do not have, and have never had, any original intellectual movements. There is nothing in our history comparable to the Schlegels and their group, or Coleridge and Wordsworth and their circle, or Mallarmé and his circle. To come nearer to the present, we have had nothing like the American New Critics, or Richards and Leavis, or the Puritan architecturalists.

The reason for this anomaly, or one of them, is easily seen: in our language we have never had real critical thought in either science, philosophy or history. Without Kant, Coleridge might never have written on the poetic imagination. Without Snoussure or Jakobson we would have no New Criticism today. Literary criticism and philosophical and scientific thought have always been intercommunicated.

In the modern age poets have been critics and in many cases, from Audelero to Eliot, it is impossible to separate discursive thought from creative, or poetic from poetry. Spain, Portugal and their former colonies are the exception. Except for isolated cases such as that of Ortega y Gasset in Spain, Borges in Argentina and a few other poets and novelists with a critical awareness, we have a few excellent literary critics, but there has never been and there is not now in Spanish America, any indigenous, original, intellectual movement. This is why we are an eccentric part of the West.

When did this eccentricity begin? In the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries? Although we never had a Descartes or anything like the "Scientific Revolution" it seems to me that what we missed above all was an equivalent to the Enlightenment and to critical philosophy. We never had an eighteenth century. Even with the best will in the world we cannot compare Folló and Jovellanos with Hume, Locke, Diderot, Rousseau, Kant. This is the basic division. At the point when the modern age was beginning, we started to drift apart. This is why the modern history of our countries has been unique.

Since we had no Enlightenment or bourgeois revolution — neither criticism nor the guillotine — we did not have Romanticism's spiritual and emotional reaction against the critical spirit and its eclecticism. Our Romanticism was declamatory and external. It could be nothing else: our Romanticism rose up against something they had never suffered — the tyranny of reason. And so it has been over since. Since the eighteenth century we have been dancing our, at step, sometimes against the current, sometimes for example in the modernist period, trying to keep up with the latest thing from abroad. Fortunately we have never entirely managed it, and I find nothing to regret in this in so far as our failure to keep exactly in step with the latest fashion has produced a literature which is a unique work: a work which have been more than eccentric, exceptional. But in the field of thought, politics, public morality, harmonious social living, our eccentricity has been disastrous.

According to most of our historians, the modern age in Latin America began with the Revolution of Independence, but this is too generalized and categorical. For a start, the independence was not a single event which distinguished sharply from the past of the continent, and, in general, the independence movements in Spanish America were not a single but a plural phenomenon. Mexico's war in a different direction from Argentina's and Venezuela's can be compared with Peru's. In the second place, if independence is the beginning of the modern age in our countries, it is a very bad time indeed.

Our ideologists and leaders were inspired by the models of the American and to lesser degree, the French, Revolutions. The North American Revolution was a conservative and a conservative and per institutions and principles which the British transplanted to the new continent. The break with Britain was not a denial of Britain but an affirmation of the principles and beliefs on which the first colonies were founded — especially the prin-

ciple of religious freedom. Before being political concepts, liberty and democracy were religious experiences, and their roots are to be found in the Reformation. Independence separated the United States from Britain, but did not alter them, nor was the issue of a change of religion, culture or of the principles on which the nation was founded ever raised.

The relationship between the Spanish American colonies and metropolitan Spain was completely different. The principles on which our countries were originally founded were those of the Counter-Reformation: absolute monarchy, no-Thomasism and, after the mid-eighteenth century, Choyes III's "enlightened despotism". The Spanish American independence movement was not merely a break from, but a denial of Spain — a real revolution and therefore, like the French Revolution, an attempt to substitute one system for another and to replace the Spanish Catholic absolutist system of monarchy by a democratic, liberal and republican one.

This comparison with the French Revolution is also misleading. In France there was an organic relationship between the revolutionary ideas and the material class forces which lived with them and acted to realize them. These ideas had been lived and thought by the bourgeoisie and the bourgeoisie, however abstract they corresponded in some way to the class interests which had ensured their adoption. The same case this man, who were fighting for modern ideas were modern men. In Spanish America these same ideas were a façade put up by the society — the rancheros, hierarchical army, military, clergy and civil servants. In other words, the land-owning and business oligarchies, bureaucrats of church, state and army. Our Revolution was an act of self-deception as well as of self-denial. The true cause for our

exceptions in the West. The eighteenth century, because the Enlightenment never penetrated form, of "enlightened despotism" which we also experienced. Both of us have paid cruelly for this historical omission. We know, irony, humour, heroic rebel- lism but not critical thinking. And this is why we know nothing of the life based on critical democracy. We are in a desperate position. But

there is a major difference between us. Although the 1917 Revolution signified no immense change, it did not entail negation, fragmentation and discontinuity. Independence produced a chronic instability in Spanish America, and our peoples have gone on living between spaces of disorder and the stupor of passivity / between denatogay and tyranny. The Bolshevik Revolution destroyed iserism only the better to continue a Russian authoritarianism. We live in a state of epilepsy; they in immobility.

In recent years many Spanish American intellectuals have become intoxicated by those lower forms of religious instinct called political ideologies, and they have opted out of the bull of ideological violence and intolerant power, the bull with blood-stained hooves and horns draped with his victims' entrails. Many writers have been intimidated or won over by the ideological gangs and rhetoric of violence and have become acolytes and secretaries to the now high-priests of sacrifice. Some have gone further and scaled the pulpit to call down punishments on their independent colleagues. Some, possessed by the demon of self-abhorrence, have begged punishment for themselves.

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The posthumous fate of Pablo Neruda

By Jorge Edwards

Pablo Neruda was always an autobiographical poet, and, over the years, evoked various stages of his childhood in the south of Chile, his youth in Santiago in the days of student unrest in the 1920s, and his experiences in Spain and of the Civil War—a period which was decisive for his subsequent political development.

Shortly after his return to Chile in 1952, at the end of the McCarthyism persecution to which he had been subjected by President González Videla, Neruda gave several lectures on his life and poetry in the *salón de honor* at the University of Chile. This was the first personal encounter my generation had had with Neruda, who previously had been the legendary poet of the East of Republican Madrid and of Mexico, the friend of Lorca and of Paul Eluard, the author of *Resistencia en la tierra*, *España en el corazón* and the early poems of the *Comio general*. These we had read in more or less underground editions, and one of us, taking advantage of the confusion of an official ceremony at the university, had presented them to the smiling González Videla, who thanked him warmly for the gift, before he realized what it contained. These lectures at the University of Chile, given early in 1954, form the basis of the first part of Neruda's memoirs, which were published in March 1974 in Barcelona, six months after his death, under the title *Confieso que he vivido*.

In 1962 Neruda was commissioned by the Brazilian writer O Cruzeiro Internacional to write ten long autobiographical pieces under the gen-



Pottery vessels—a fish, a frog, and a mysterious shellfish—made from Coid in central Panama. Pre-Columbian Designs from Panama (108pp. Dover/Constable. £2.45) contains 591 illustrations of Coid pottery taken from the classic work on this strange minor culture, published in 1942 by the anthropologist Samuel Kirkland Lothrop (1892-1965). Coid is best known for a ceramic style of remarkably high quality, using figures of gods, demons, animals and men as well as abstract motifs, all stylized in the same recognizable artistic convention.

eral title "Las vidas del poeta"—once again, on the theme of life and poetry. Years afterwards, when he was the ambassador of Salvador Allende's government in Paris and I was a counsellor at the same embassy, we often spoke about the possibility of his turning this material into a complete and coherent volume of memoirs.

I think that Neruda's attitude to this hypothetical book was fairly complex in the 1970s, in those early days of the government of Popular Unity. He felt the temptation, but at the same time appreciated the enormous difficulties of writing it. During those exhausting days in the embassy weighed down with problems, hurried by visitors, with everyone's eye upon us, the target of continual provocations, we used to talk during the numerous empty moments one finds in diplomatic life: in the waiting-room of a ministry, or while we were going by car to a reception, or waiting for a plane in the official poetry lounge at Only airport, or one of those centres of amusement (or torment) which we came to know best in our life in Paris. On such occasions Pablo would confess to me that he only felt pleasure writing poetry. He could write short bits of prose, as he had done all his life, ever since the literary criticism he gave in 1920 to *Claridad*, the review of the Chilean Students Federation, but the idea of undertaking a long prose work did not attract him overmuch.

Nevertheless, perhaps because of a presentiment about his own death, his illness had already begun to show itself—his conversation was sprinkled with anecdotes from his

past, with extraordinary evocations of persons and places, from Gandhi and the young Neruda to Elías Laferte, the old Chilean communist leader, André Malraux, Spanish poets and artists, and the more extravagant characters of the old into your memoirs. I would say to him after just such an anecdote, maybe as we waited in line, in our official costume, for President Pompidou at the ritual New Year ceremony, and he would answer, "Remind me of it when we get back to La Montaña-Plequet." (The embassy was and still is—although then it was underground, whereas now it is protected by a thick cor-

don of police—at No. 2 in that avenue, next door to Las Invalides.)

There was also the problem of the susceptibilities which might be wounded by a book of this nature. Anything that Neruda wrote just then, as a former candidate for the presidency of the Chilean Republic, in France, as a Nobel prizewinner, would be gone over with a microscope, dissected and criticized. He told me, for example, that he was thinking of telling the story of the Chilean Popular Front, finding himself under pressure from the Right and given a shock order to stop the embarkation of refugees from the Spanish Civil War in 1939. Although Aguirre Cerdá finally rescinded this order, the story would not be to the liking of certain members of Aguirre Cerdá's party who still supported Popular Unity.

However, there were much more serious difficulties which Neruda could not pass over in silence: the problems of de-Stalinization, with which the poet had come into close contact in the case of Soviet writers, and in the internal affairs of the Chilean party, nor Neruda's relations with the official writers of Cuba, who had attacked him in an open letter at the end of 1966. He might like that about Aguirre Cerdá might still annoy one or two people, his collections in 1971 or 1972 about Scotland, or about Cuban intellectuals might have far more serious consequences and would be used,

naturally, by the fierce opposition which Allende's regime was then facing in Chile.

Neruda returned to Chile in November 1972, tired and sick, and never resumed his activities as a diplomat. The costs of the country, partially restored his energy. In a letter of April 14, 1973, he told me: "I am writing a lot and well. This is the prescription to be followed on this amazing coast. The region is tonic, vigorous, stimulating like no other. To live anywhere else from now on would seem to me a perversion." At this time he rewrote all the *O Cruzeiro* articles and made good headway with his memoirs, without ever abandoning the writing of poetry. At the beginning of September, a few days before the military coup, he decided to shut himself up in his house at Isla Negra, and not emerge even at weekends, so as to finish the book within a few months. He wanted the memoirs to be published, together with eight unpublished books of poetry, on July 12, 1974, his seventieth birthday. The coup and two weeks later, death surprised him in the course, with a notebook full of topics which he had not had time to expound.

On Castro's blacklist

By J. M. Cohen

CARLOS ALBERTO MONTAÑER: *Informe secreto sobre la revolución cubana*. 300pp. Madrid: Sedmay. 300ptas.

Carlos Alberto Montañer has compiled a formidable indictment of the Castro revolution and, at the same time, of the CIA-backed elements in Miami who have tried to overthrow it. His loyalties are to a splinter group of Christian revolutionaries who were among Castro's first most part, dead, imprisoned or in exile. His heroes are a group of peasant guerrillas who fought beside Castro in the Sierra and then against him, and who were liquidated because the organizers of the Bay of Pigs invasion did not think them worth supporting.

On the suppression of intellectual freedom and the anti-homosexual campaign, I can myself, on the strength of visits to Cuba in 1965 and 1968 corroborate, and even expand. Señor Montañer's indictment. Against both, together with most of those foreign intellectuals who were so freely invited to Cuba in the 1950s, I have, where possible, protested. As a result, I find myself

about the pro-Sovietism he had confessed and reiterated a thousand times. One should not forget that Neruda was writing at a time of intense polarization in Chilean politics, of furious attacks on the government by the right wing and of financial blockade from North America. Despite this, he wrote several passages whose meaning can be better understood today. There are paragraphs which not only strike at right-wing fascism but also at any form of sectarianism or authoritarianism. "I want to live in a world without excommunications," he wrote, under the title "Poetry and Politics".

I shall excommunicate no one. I shall not say tomorrow to that priest, "You can't baptize any one because you are anti-communist." I shall not say to someone else: "I shall not publish your poem, your creation, because you are anti-communist." I want to live in a world in which human beings are simply human, where that is their only qualification, with no worrying about rules, or words, or labels.

In another paragraph he alludes quite openly to social realism, a school of writing which today rules in Cuba though not under this name and which has never been entirely expelled from the Soviet Union. "Although I like the 'positive hero' met with in the muddy trenches of civil wars by the North American writers, or by the Russian Moya-kovsky," Neruda writes in the chapter called "Criticism and Self-criticism".

I also have room in my heart for the journeying-draped souls of Lautréamont, for the soulful knight of Laforgue, for the negative soldier of Charles Baudelaire. We must beware of separating these two halves of the apple of creation, for we might cut open our own hearts and cease to exist.

What is extraordinary is that Neruda's discreet tone in his memoirs, allied to his long fidelity to Soviet communism, does not seem to have helped him much with the neo-Stalinist bureaucrats. From the point of view of censorship, the story of Neruda's memoirs is a painful and revealing. The first manuscripts were sent to Barcelona and Moscow. Neruda had sold before he did that he did not want his book to be published in any way at all. The book was duly published in Spain, despite some harsh sentences about Francoism and the Civil War; whereas Soviet publishers have remained silent for three long years. The memoirs have incurred separate forms of censorship in Chile and Cuba, and an uncomfortable silence from the Soviet Union; although in Cuba and in Chile they have been widely read clandestinely. Their fate never have suggested in our conversations of 1971-72, when we were defending Allende's foreign policy in the Chilean embassy in France.

Recently, Matilde Urrutia, Pablo Neruda's wife, told me that Neruda some in Isla Negra was entered secretly three days after the coup. Neruda was dictating his final chapter, in which he recounts the bombing of the Moneda Palace and

the death of Allende, when the house was surrounded by a white army detachment. From his sickbed he could see the lines of soldiers in position on the beach at the ready, just in case behind the ships' figureheads and the first editions of Lautréamont, and Baudelaire were hidden bands of guerrillas. Matilde told the army commander to start with the poet's bedroom, so that afterwards he could rest. The officer, greeted and the poet courteously and Neruda told him to carry out his duties. Since he appeared somewhat intimidated, Neruda told him: "Search everything. You will find nothing. Yet I warn you that there is something here very dangerous for you: Poetry!"

The dangers of poetry take effect in various and unforeseeable ways. Bureaucrats know this, which is why they exercise censorship. What they do not know is that censorship does not suffice, and never has sufficed to ward off these dangers. Poetry's power of survival and infiltration is awe-inspiring. Writing this today in Spain, I might cite the very apt cases of Lorca, Antonio Machado and Miguel Hernández, who are more alive today than forty years ago, on the eve of their deaths.

Several times in his memoirs Neruda describes this power of poetry to penetrate and communicate. To have been for a moment, for many more, a symbol of hope, a heartening thing," he writes. In the end, Neruda saw in this justification as a political poet; but after the revelations of the Twentieth Congress about Stalin—perhaps from 1958—he had gone back to precisising what he called the dark side of poetry. For him as for many others, the tragedy had consisted in the realization that "in various aspects of the Stalin problem, the enemy was right." Neruda did not on this account abandon his basic political beliefs, but he did introduce an element of caution and reflection into them, whose consequences ultimately have been the reluctance of the Soviet Union towards his memoirs.

This is another sign of the times, in so age when Soviet publicists frequently censor the texts of so-called Euro-communism. For this reason, and because of the case made in Russia to García Márquez's *Hundred Years of Solitude*, Neruda wrote to his memoirs: "How can we settle these things? I am becoming less and less of a sociologist. Apart from the general principles of Marxism, apart from my antipathy towards capitalism, I understand less and less about the underlying contradictions of mankind." Neruda had emerged from his Stalinist phase without going back on his fundamental confidence in socialism, but he was far removed from the extreme attitudes of the past, and from the watchful suspiciousness of the commissars. This is what has earned him his present twofold or even threefold coosor-

ship.

at the tail of the blacklist headed by the name of Jean-Paul Sartre. We were invited to Cuba to testify to the first revolution to preserve intellectual and cultural freedom, but when in the very early days of the "confession" protests by foreign intellectuals were widespread, we were discarded as friends of the revolution.

Our blacklist is unimportant. Señor Montañer prints, however, a second blacklist of Cuban writers and artists living on the island whose work may not be shown or published. This includes the names of almost every important writer and artist, old and young, from the distinguished elderly poet José Martí, Rana and the magnificent Padilla and Pablo Armando Fernández to the young José Triunfo, one of whose plays was presented by our National Theatre in Havana in the 1960s, and who was a member of the Cuban Revolutionary Council in New York. Only Alejo Carpentier, who was so great for attack, and one of the great Catholic poets, perhaps the greatest national endeavour, of which Castro with his long bombastic speeches, and opportunist

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...padre, completamente ciego".
He stayed in a while in Cuba, then
went back to Spain. He died in Bar-
celona in 1944, where he is buried
with his secretary in the Cemetery
de la Cruz, "Departamento 5,
Nicho 7417".

Vargas Vila would have wished
one to make an end of this account
of a gallant and spectacular life
with one of his favorite phrases,
"mucho claudicaba"—"he never
surrendered". But it is unfortu-
nately not exactly the case: he did
surrender, at least once. It is
strange that of all the dictators of
his time there is one that he never
mentioned—Juan Vicente Gómez of
Venezuela. This may have been be-
cause Vargas Vila had diplomatic
ambitions, or because Gómez had
ended the presidential career of
Cipriano Castro; despite his very
Vargasian style Castro had been
his opponent in the Venezuelan poli-
tics of the 1890s. Perhaps it was an
insurance, a hope. In 1925 he wrote
from Havana to Laureano Vallenilla
Lanz, the interlocutor of Gómez's
and editor of Gómez's principal
newspaper *La Nación* Extra, proposing
to "crown his work" with a life of
Bolívar. First-class cabins, first-
rate hotels and expensive gestures
had run through his flagging royal-
ties. He had never saved. His
fascination with Bolívar, he con-
fessed, was not entirely disinter-
ested.

I am not an eater of cinders, that
I can feed myself on that handful
of ash called Glory
I must live
And I have nothing to live on ...
that is the Imperative Dilemma;
And at sixty-six, that is a fearful
Problem.

In private letters, he maintained
his declamatory public style, but the
content is more than a little
changed. He did not get the money,
and the world is one life of Bolívar
the less.

There are still more than
one hundred books, and rumours
of more unpublished, including a
very lengthy and very scandalous
diary left behind somewhere in
Mexico or Cuba. Vargas Vila was
always maneuvered, usually
frequently, pretentiously, egotistical,
and remonstrant to a ridiculous
degree, and a serious evaluation of
his work and its importance is not
well served by the continuing
republications of his *Obras*.
Complete. A small anthology would
show him at his best, and would
make it easier to explain the
attraction he had for many of the
better writers of his time, and the
anomalous liberating effect he has
had on generations of adolescent
readers since. He has an undeniably
important place in the history of
his culture.

That culture cannot be under-
stood without its rhetoric, and
rhetoric cannot be neatly separated
from ideology. Vargas Vila was the
foremost Latin American exponent
of a style of political invective that
derived above all from Victor Hugo,
particularly the Hugo of *Les*
Châtiments and *Napoléon le Petit*.
Hugo's influence in Spanish
America was immense, and Vargas
Vila was one of many disciples. The
Buenos Aires-born, the Chilean
Francisco Bilbao, his own
friend and countryman, Juan de
Dios Uribe, were earlier imitators,
but none of these is still as read-
able as Vargas Vila at his height.
He never left the ideological
climate of his youth, and the events
of 1884 and 1885 left him with a
bitterness that gives his attacks on
the victors a particularly poisonous
bite. His portraits of the architects
of Conservative reaction in Colom-
bia, of the sceptic Rafael Núñez and
the ultra-conservative Manuel
Marín, are scathing and accurate.

Case was a poet, a grammarian
and a classical scholar, a translator
of Virgil. For Vargas Vila he was
a literary figure from the Roman
era who had disintegrated the
remains of illustrious poets. He
adorned himself with their bones
like some Mozambique Christian.
He scattered them round about to
show his insatiable appetite as a
scholar's reader.

Hay dos cosas inseparables en
él: la Tiberina y la Gramática.
Y hay dos cosas que le son absolu-
tamente impoibles: hacer un buen
gobierno, y un buen verso.
Sus actos, como sus rimas, son
iguales: desorden y desorden.
No ha tenido sino una voluptuosidad
en su vida: violar las Musas
y las leyes de domesticidad: a lo
cárcel, brutal.

...la putación con may-
or carnicamento que el delito
durante su Gobierno. Los Liberales
tuvieron el triste consuelo de
ser fusilados con todas las
leyes gramaticales, a falta de
otras leyes.

His contemporary philippics *Los*
Cesáres de la Decadencia and *Los*
Diablos y Los Humanos fixed for
succeeding generations the images
of a whole gallery of villains and
heroes. As a young man, the
Colombian poet Rafael Maya saw
Vargas Vila on his visit to Barran-
quilla, and in an essay forty years
later asked what had been the
impact of this "hombre... sencillamente espectacular, grotesco, sub-
lime, cómico y transcendental".

I don't say that all this preaching
was without result. On the con-
trary, our democracies will always
retain an echo of the voice of
Vargas Vila. The people loved
him, and still love him, not
because these books still matter,
but for the resonance of those
political campaigns, a resonance
which still prolongs itself through
time. *La devoración sagrada* arran-
caba ramos de los laureles rojos
que crecen sobre su tumba.

This is an exact observation, for
there is hardly a poet who does
not echo him, in egotism, in the
appearance of immodesty, in that
essential vagueness of what exactly
he is about. "Yo no soy un hombre,
soy un pueblo", the theme of José
Martí, of Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, is
Vargas Vila at his most providential.
There is much of him too in the
historical of Peronism, much in the
political Neruda—to Neruda's credit,
in his case the influence is openly
acknowledged, even affirmed. His
style of political writing, to its
rebellious invective and righteous-
ness, with its magisterial allusion to
superior culture and privileged
insight, has not only been appropri-
ated by the left: the Colombian
Conservative Laureano Gómez, the
most formidable demagogue of a
republic over short of orators, had
obviously learnt lessons of this mas-
ter; by the chance of inheritance
some of his *derechos de autor* went
after his death to finance Gómez's
paper *El Siglo*.

The less political works have worn
less well, and many have not worn
at all. The early novels, whose pro-
vincial settings and erotic pessimism
come from Jorge Isaacs's *Maria* over-
laid with Zola, are still read. They
cannot much longer keep the same
of rebelliousness that has kept them

The banana belt

By David Brading

RALPH LEE WOODWARD, JR.

Central America
A Nation Divided
344pp. Oxford University Press.
£7.25 (paperback), £2.25.

Without a sharp focus on the
contours, any attempt to de-
scribe the history of five countries
across four centuries is likely to
disolve into a blur of detail. As a
result of his treatment of the colonial
period, where the high quality of
recent research has proved of great
assistance, Ralph Lee Woodward has
unfortunately chosen to concentrate
on political chronicle to the exclu-
sion of any serious examination of
changes in society or the economy.
Indeed, on such themes he is quite
devoid of numerical control, so that
the reader is left with a sense of
"understanding" and somewhat later
that there was "a startling increase
in population". Moreover, although
he inserts the subtitle "a nation
divided", he never explains why the
heterogeneous communities of Cen-
tral America should be regarded as
nations in his account of original
Confederation which was set up after
independence was broken apart by
the armed revolt of conservative
leaders opposed to the liberal
regime based on Guatemala City.
Yet the evidence suggests that apart
from their policy towards the
Church there was little to distin-
guish the parties other than their
strong sectional loyalties.

Similarly, despite a slow evolution
from liberalism towards some form
of positivism, the dictatorial nature
of presidential government went
unchanged. To learn that "Lacho"
Somosa started off in politics as a
poet, that is certainly surprising, but
it surely not enlightening without



Colombian soldiers of the civil war of 1885

going, and which they so well
deserved when they first appeared.
Some remain remarkable curiosi-
ties: *Los Pájaros*, 1903, has a sexual
explicitness very advanced for the
time; it also carries references to
Darwin, Lombroso, Pichte, Blanguet,
Lauras, Grave, Tolstoy, William
Morris, Gorki, Leopardi, Aimé
Tadama and Burne-Jones, to give
only an incomplete list, and its
social content covers the entire
stock-in-trade of the novel of social
protest for many years after.

Whatever the artistic failings of
such works, they performed more
cultural tasks than the *novela*:
something of the schoolteacher
always remained in Vargas Vila, to
balance the priest and the ocolide,
and few can have had as many
pupils. He would have preferred to

be remembered as in this quotation
of Vargas Vila, señor de repen-
tes: *Los Pájaros*, 1903, has a sexual
explicitness very advanced for the
time; it also carries references to
Darwin, Lombroso, Pichte, Blanguet,
Lauras, Grave, Tolstoy, William
Morris, Gorki, Leopardi, Aimé
Tadama and Burne-Jones, to give
only an incomplete list, and its
social content covers the entire
stock-in-trade of the novel of social
protest for many years after.

There is a useful critical biography
of Vargas Vila by Arturo Escobar
Uribe: *El Divino Vargas Vila*
Bogotá, 1958. The essay by Rafael
Maya appeared in the *Bolivia*
Cultural y Bibliográfica of the Biblioteca
Luis Angel Arango, Vol. VII,
No. 5. I was able to see his letter
to Laureano Vallenilla Lanz through
the kindness of Señora Beatriz
Vallenilla and Nikla Harvati.

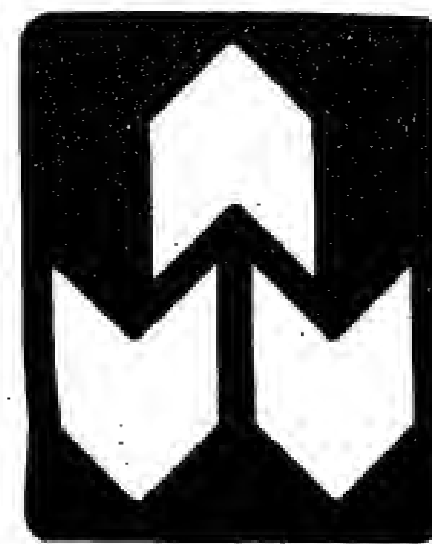
of indigo, a substance produced on
small farms.

Only in the closing decades of
the last century did the drive for
new export crops, at last seriously
encroached on peasant agriculture.
But even then the United Fruit
Company located most of its banana
plantations on the relatively de-
serted coastlands of the Caribbean,
importing labourers from the British
West Indies. The result was a
classic enclave economy, linked
more closely to New York and
London than to León and Teguci-
galpa. But despite the application
of the term "banana republic" to
most countries in this area, in fact
coffee was the chief export, save in
Honduras. It was to procure land
for coffee plantations, many owned
by Germans and other foreigners,
that governments in El Salvador
and Guatemala passed legislation
similar to our Enclosure Acts, which
deprived many smallholders of
their meagre plots. Nevertheless,
although the plantations were
attracted the attention of traders
and reformers alike, the survival of
subsistence farmer, whom David
Browning aptly dubs the "invisible
presence" in the countryside, has
shown us in Latin America, in
the co-existence (and interpenetra-
ence) of the two types of agricul-
ture which renders agrarian society
so complex and explosive.

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Adventures in the kin trade

By David Maybury-Lewis

JOANNA OVERLING KAPLAN:

The Piara
A People of the Orinoco Basin
266pp. Clarendon Press: Oxford
University Press, £8.

"Green Hell" books about South American Indians still have a certain vogue, but they are, fortunately, disappearing from anthropology. They are frequently replaced by portentous monographs, replete with tables and diagrams and heirloom minor theories. The Piara belongs firmly to this latter genre. It is a discussion of kinship and marriage among two or three thousand Indians who inhabit the upper reaches of the Orinoco in southwestern Venezuela. They are scattered in dispersed settlements (each consisting of a single household) which are in turn loosely grouped in territories under headmen.

Joanna Overling Kaplan spent nearly a year among the Piara and in this book she sets out to describe and explain their pattern of residence and to make a reworked argument concerning their system of kinship and marriage. She concludes that Piara residential choices are influenced by political decisions to follow (and therefore reside in the territory of) one headman or another and also by a stated ideal of marrying and living with close kin.

The book contains much heady theorizing on the basis of ethnographic support. Dr Kaplan argues that the Piara see their entire society as a cognate kindred, or *chuwarrunwa*, with all its members related to each other by ties of blood. Alternatively they see *chuwarrunwa* to refer to a given individual's personal kindred, to refer to the members of a household-settlement and so on. At the same time the relationship terminology does not conform to the picture, for it distinguishes between kin on the one hand and affines on the other, in a manner well known to anthropologists from the various parts of the world. Clearly the definitional characteristics of this system is its binary ordering of the universe of relatives. In the Piara case this is said to conflict with their perpetual insistence on a unitary kindred at all levels. This contradiction, Dr Kaplan claims, is resolved by a system of kinship which turn affines conceptually into kinsmen. Meanwhile the Piara order these relationships by a post-marriage rule, with a certain category of kin.

Their system is however radically different from those discussed by Lévi-Strauss in his famous treatise, *The Elementary Structures of Kinship*. Lévi-Strauss there dealt with positive marriage rules which established alliances between unrelated descent groups. The Piara have the concept of unilineal descent. Instead, Dr Kaplan insists, they marry within their kindred and thus use their positive marriage rule to establish exchange

relationships internal to the kindred. She claims to follow Lévi-Strauss in showing that such a system can work perfectly well in cognate kindreds, yet she does not feel (as Yalman did) that such an argument is a significant modification of Lévi-Strauss's original thesis. At the same time she maintains that Dumont's analysis of the form of this type of relationship terminology, which Yalman was explicitly criticizing, also holds for the Piara, who are thus portrayed as being all things in all theorists.

What then is the evidence for this confusing argument? The motleyly antagonistic viewpoints which Dr Kaplan claims to be reconciling in her analysis come in the ideologies of people in different parts of the world as they bear on kinship and marriage. Yet her own book is remarkably deficient in its documentation of Piara ideology. We are told where their ethnology and little about their ritual, in spite of the fact that the office of headman derives its authority from its supernatural powers.

We are told that politics play an important part in the Piara calculation of kinship and residential strategies, yet there is no satisfactory analysis of Piara political mechanisms. We are told that the Piara institutionalize peace and halloes that a man who kills another by physical violence will die by defecting his own insides. But Dr Kaplan does not follow up this comment to show how and with what sanctions disputes are settled in such a remarkably pacific society.

She does present a good deal of data on residence patterns, but these have to be treated with due caution. Dr Kaplan knows only one Piara territory well of the twelve or fifteen that there are in all—she says that the precise number is difficult to determine. Her data for the others are largely taken from a rapid survey, carried out at the

beginning of her fieldwork, when her knowledge of the language was still incipient. During that survey she spent a brief period in each household settlement—half a day in some, overnight in others—and drew rough kinship charts mapping the relationships of the people in the household as she went through.

On this slight ethnography Dr Kaplan tries to build a structure of argument which it cannot support. The Piara concept *chuwarrunwa* is clearly a polysemic word not unlike the English word "family" and it is not clear on what grounds Dr Kaplan should insist that the Piara really think it means a cognate kindred. Similarly the distinction between kin and affines in the Piara relationship terminology is a gloss supplied by the analyst. The Piara do not have words for this opposition or for the opposition contrasting the two "sides" of the terminology. The contrast between these two principles is not therefore as firm as Dr Kaplan makes it out to be.

In any case, her solution of this evanescent problem adds to the confusion, providing neither theoretical illumination nor deep insight into the Piara. Her discussion of cognate kinship deprives the concept of what little meaning it already has. Her final argument that the Piara have a two-section system of relationship terminology and practise prescriptive alliance within the endogenous, cognate kindred is unconvincing. Above all, there is an enormous gap between the data and the theory. What sort of evidence does it make to them and for them? How does it enable them to live their lives according to their own lights? We are told in the introduction that the Piara, as Dr Kaplan knew it in 1965, has passed out of existence. Unless she or somebody else has a lot of unpublished field material somewhere, we are unlikely to find answers to these questions.

numerous errors of detail, and illustrations chosen for their cosmetic value rather than any relevance to the text. The popularizer in any field, a fortiori in one as superficially simple as ethnology, has a bounden duty to his or her reader to be, first, accurate, since the audience lacks the specialized knowledge to detect inaccuracy; second, up-to-date in published research, so that they are not misled by now-obsolete accuracy may not be accurate; and third, to offer readers the chance to pursue their interest further through a list of accessible publications of a suitable standard.

Mr Burland has shirked these duties not only are there far too many errors but they are inconsistent (to give the introduction of maize to Peru at, on successive pages, 2000 and 1000 ac; research in this decade, even if published, is virtually nonexistent; the bibliography cites detailed ethnography and a number of popular books, but the summary of the secondary syntheses of material that provide a basic grounding in the field of American archaeology. The style is alarming: endless sentences, scarcely more than a couple of sentences on many important topics, and a disproportionate amount of space wasted on rehearsed legends and speculation. The overall impression is of a gerbil's recollection of books read some years back, not boiling with ideas added to disguise the lack of meat or flavour.

The excavations in the Tehuacan Valley of central highland Mexico are among the most important archaeological sites of the first millennium. The origins of New World agriculture were documented, and the changing response of human groups to an evolving economy was elucidated. Volume 5 of *The Prehistory of the Tehuacan Valley* follows those dealing with the environment, the non-ceramic and ceramic artefacts, irrigation and chronology, and provides the essential basic information on the fieldwork of 1960-65. Until now archaeologists have had to content themselves with summary articles, and have on the whole had to take the statements of Richard MacNeish and his associates without corroboration; now independent evaluation of the work can begin.

The text describes each excavation as it progressed, illustrated by ecological context photographs of the site, contour plans, sections (but not enough of these), isometric drawings of the stages of excavation in some cases, an admirable aid to comprehension, and then tabulations of excavated material and interpretations of activity areas. The quality of the excavations can be judged from photographs of work in progress.

Five chapters on excavations are followed by a section on reconnaissance and reconstruction of settlement patterns for each period from 10,000 ac until the Spanish conquest; a hierarchy of sites is suggested, together with possible seasonal movement between sites to exploit specific resources. In the final chapter Professor MacNeish summarizes the Tehuacan sequence within a systemic interpretation, a topic which he will clearly expand in *The Dawn of Civilization*, the sixth and final volume of what is already one of the major achievements of excavation and publication in New World Prehistory.

In full control

By Peter Rivière

JEAN-PAUL DUMONT:

Under the Rainbow
Nature and Supernature among the Panare Indians
178pp. University of Texas Press (AUPG), £7.

The rainbow of the title is an aspect of Manatoci, the anecond-like culture here, who created the world of the Panare Indians of Venezuela. The Panare associate the rainbow with the wet season and thus contrast it with the Milky Way which has dry season associations. From this a whole series of relationships can be derived: rainbow: Milky Way: wet: dry: celestial water: terrestrial water: well: grave: and so on. The rainbow, until we have covered the structure of the Panare's world.

In this relatively short book Jean-Paul Dumont has set out to do two things. First, he aims to fill an ethnographic void, since the Carib-speaking Panare, although relatively accessible, have until now remained little known. The second objective "is an excursion into Panare philosophy as manifested in their culture". This excursion has as its guidebook the *Mythologies of Claude Lévi-Strauss*, and the present volume is one of the most explicitly structuralist works, with all the faults and merits that implies, to have emerged from the South American forests.

However, M Dumont has not been satisfied to follow directly in the path of his guide, and this major methodological innovation has been to elaborate the Lévi-Straussian opposition of nature and culture by the introduction of a third term, *supernature*. This new analytic category adds a useful dimension, and the central argument of this

book is that the Panare, by means of their culture, mediate and control the disorder that is inherent in both nature and supernature.

To try to go beyond this summary description is difficult in a short review since the argument attempts to be both very condensed and very obscure. Even so some ideas of the argument must be given. An introductory chapter sets out the aims of the book, the background to the study and some comments on the analytical method. Panare's historical and geographical background is covered in the next two chapters, and this is followed by a concise ethnographic description. After this the main analysis gets under way and begins, very sensibly, with something as near-to-earth as the settlement pattern.

The Panare use four different living spaces, their use following daily and seasonal rhythm. M Dumont argues that there are no practical, economic, ecological, technical, political or religious reasons for the seasonal cycle, but they are a means by which the Panare can symbolically manipulate and thus control their world. The analysis of the structure of space, which for the Panare is a cultural entity, involves reference to both time and the sensible categories of experience.

The analysis of time, a natural and supernatural element, occupies the longest and most involved chapter. As one might imagine the Panare seasonal cycle is marked by the movement of various celestial bodies. But it is not simply the movement that is important, because the stars and constellations have for the Panare a sexual connotation. Through this "astrosexuality" (as M Dumont calls it) they express both a reversal of sexuality which includes hyperbolic endogamy (i.e. incest, hyperbolic exogamy (i.e. bestiality), and metemorphosis (metamorphosis) and a well-timed sexuality that is the life-cycle of birth and death, marriage and solitude.

The point of all this is that it allows the Panare conceptually to equate the yearly cycle with the life cycle, and repetitive time with cumulative time, and thus appear to control time by the ideological manipulation of celestial bodies, such as the presence, movement, location, and so forth, of celestial bodies.

The discussion of the categories of sensible experience is limited to hearing, and touch and taste (the senses not distinguished verbally between these last two). The conclusion reached is as before: the sensible categories are conceptualized in the same way as time and space are conceptualized around structural oppositions between a natural disorder and a supernatural order that only the cultural order adequately mediates.

It is difficult to pass any satisfactory judgment on this book. For one thing the reader is provided with little information other than that which is carried out. For example, no myths are given and no rituals described in any detail.

My own reaction is mainly positive. The analysis of the structure of inhabited space is skilfully and convincingly done, and the book contains many illuminating ideas. On the other hand the treatment of time and astrology is less plausible. Beyond the rather unfortunate terminology which is certain to estrange some readers, the method here seems to produce unreal problems. At one point the following set is deduced from the text: male: female; at another point the set: night: day: men: woman. A rather tenuous structural explanation is given for this apparent contradiction although it is perfectly reasonable to expect different contexts to evoke different qualities and associations.

M Dumont claims that his study can be verified both by its logical coherence and by experimental proof (because he states, even the smallest and most trivial concrete actions of the Panare can be seen to be modelled on the structure of the Panare's world). Even so, the analysis has to be imposed by the intensity of the argument, they may have difficulty in deciding just where the line is to be drawn in the Panare's philosophy of the world.

Crisis in Chile

By Alan Angell

MANUEL CASTELLS:

La Lucha de clases en Chile
435pp. Buenos Aires: Siglo XXI.

STEFAN DE VYLDER:

Alloede's Chile
The Political Economy of the Rise and Fall of the Unidad Popular
251pp. Cambridge University Press, £3.50.

MILAN STUCHLIK:

Life on a Half Share
Mechanisms of Social Recruitment among the Mapuche of Southern Chile
222pp. C. Hurst, £9.

Few countries have seen such a sharp, rapid and intense process of political polarization as occurred in Chile from the election of Salvador Allende in 1970 to his brutal overthrow in 1973. In that brief period the class system was thrown into sharp relief, as the dominant groups struggled to maintain their hegemony against a powerful, if uncoordinated, challenge from the previously dominated sectors of society.

To *La Lucha de clases en Chile*, Manuel Castells analyses the social system under duress and the political response to the crisis. His book is rich in detail, and imaginative speculation, and strives continually to make the connection between the social structure and political reality. Like the process it describes however, the organization of the book is rather chaotic, and the main theme is often lost while a minor one is pursued over many pages. This disorganization is the product of a conscious decision, for the book consists of a number of unrevised working papers written when Señor Castells was in Chile. Yet there is surprisingly little repetition, and the combination of painstaking detail with bold theory makes this an indispensable starting point for any consideration of the social changes that took place under the Popular Unity government.

One of the central problems facing Allende was how to win over the middle class to his coalition. Castells shows how in the Chilean context the very concept of "middle class" is a gross oversimplification which can carry dangerous political implications. How is it possible to jump together in the same category groups such as self-employed workers, shop servants, small businessmen, civil servants and artisans? Each group has different interests, will occupy a separate place in the social structure. But no political strategy based on electoral supremacy could ignore these groups, since their numerical importance, and as the last year of the Popular Unity was to show, their intense political militancy. Sr Castells offers no easy answer to the question of how at least some of them could have been won over to help to construct socialism, but his sensitive appreciation of the sheer complexity of the problem is a theoretical (and for future Chilean politicians, practical) advance over any other presentation.

Many deeply held assumptions about Chilean society were challenged during this period. According to the Christian Democratic theoretical view, the Chilean people were largely "acculturated" (the 10th) the inhabitants of the shanty towns that ringed the major cities of Chile were mostly "migrant" migrants from the country, lacking in any form of class consciousness, instrumental in their political and social behaviour, and largely "employed" (or under-employed) on the fringes of the capitalist sector. All these assumptions were proved incorrect. Not only were the *proletarios* very similar to the urban working class in most respects, but their political behaviour was based on their participation in any extensive working-class organization for attaining political goals.

The Popular Unity's policy to the working class was heavily influenced by the views of Sr Castells. That party stressed the need for close central control over the process of mobilization and distribution of "spontaneous" developments. Perhaps the most remarkable change during this period was precisely the way in which people began to challenge this policy, and to demand the right to shape their own future.

The French sociologist Alain Touraine regards the cordons industriales (the local organizations formed as a popular response to the "buses strike" of October 1972) as a unique contribution to revolutionary practice. Perhaps he exaggerates their originality. But they were a remarkable demonstration of the potentialities of working-class solidarity in defiance of the bosses, and even against the wishes of the government. Though Sr Castells's book was written while these events were taking place, once more it is the indispensable source for understanding the social context in which they developed.

Stefan de Vylder's style contrasts sharply with that of Sr Castells. Written after the coup, *Allende's Chile* is a sympathetic but critical account of the political economy of the Popular Unity. His argument, that the basic strategy of the government would not have succeeded however noble its intentions, is pursued relentlessly. Perhaps too relentlessly, for underlying this is the economist's assumption that all policy is more or less equally available. Dr De Vylder implies that the aims of the government demanded a much more radical programme. If, however, the allegedly mild reformism of the Allende administration produced such a sharp reaction from his opponents, both domestic and foreign, what would have been the result of a more radical programme? Earlier intervention by the military is the most likely guess.

Nevertheless, *Allende's Chile* is an excellent treatment of the Popular Unity's economic policy. The chapter on the effects of the agrarian reform programme is particularly acute. The government may have completed the abolition of the *latifundio*, but two thirds of all productive land still remained in private hands, and the majority of the rural poor—the *campesinos*—and subsistence farmers—did not benefit from the reform. Was it any wonder that the countryside played its traditional role of impeding the march towards socialism?

The author's discussion of other sectors of the economy is always relevant, but somewhat superficial. Like Sr Castells, Dr De Vylder is an indispensable source of fact and opinion. His criticisms seem at times rather harsh, and he subscribes to a rather voluntarist hope in the potentialities of the working class to control the state and to change it. But this is a valuable and lucid attempt to examine in detail the effects of the government's economic policy, and the observed contrast between the impact of that policy and the Government's own intentions.

Milan Stuchlik's examination of the Mapuches is overtly anthropological. The Mapuches are among the largest surviving indigenous groups in Latin America, and constitute an estimated 5 per cent of the Chilean population. During the period of their behaviour (his book is based on fieldwork completed before Allende came to power). As he states clearly in the preface, "basically it treats Mapuche society from the inside—without asking for adequate historical events which deeply and directly influenced it, the fact that it is at the same time a component group of Chilean society in general".

Nevertheless, the first section of the book is an interesting description of the social structure of Mapuche society, emphasizing particularly the grave effects on its corporate structure of the introduction of the reservation system at the end of the nineteenth century. The bulk of the book deals with inter-tribal relations among the Mapuches, and so such offers more of interest to students of comparative anthropology than of Chilean society.

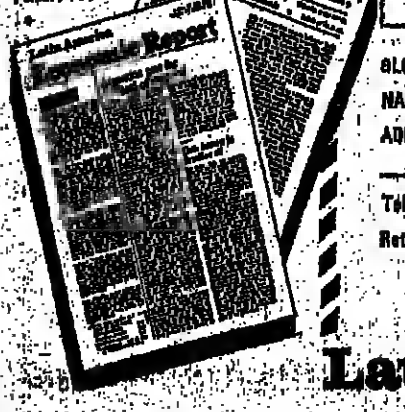


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